THE MUTINY THAT IS RAISING CAIN

THE Nation

March 27, 1954
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Japan Returns To the Past

by W. Macmahon Ball

A Psychiatrist Looks At McCarthyism

by Robert C. Murphy, Jr.

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

MAR 26 1954

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The Picture in Pennsylvania

[*Important local developments in this year's election campaigning will be reported periodically by* Nation *correspondents from all parts of the country.*]

York, Pennsylvania

THE sudden appearance of former career diplomat George F. Kennan on the Pennsylvania political scene was interpreted, no doubt fairly correctly, as an expression of his desire to combat what he had described last May in a forthright speech at Notre Dame University as "forces at large in our society" engaged in the "profession of denunciation." Even before his retirement from the foreign service in April of last year, Kennan had made no secret of his alarm at what members of those forces were doing to the morale of this country's diplomatic corps. On March 11, when he told the York *Gazette and Daily* he was a candidate for the Democratic Congressional nomination from the Nineteenth District of Pennsylvania, the professional denouncers were also undermining the morale of the army—a fact which pointed up the importance of Kennan's entry into practical politics. Persons of various political persuasions in the Nineteenth District, which comprises Adams, Cumberland, and York counties, looked with favor on his candidacy.

Then, on March 17, just as suddenly as he had emerged, he dropped out of the race with a brief statement that "it would not be possible to reconcile [his] personal commitments with the requirements of a primary contest." He faced opposition from three other aspirants to the seat.

Although Kennan is scheduled to deliver lectures on foreign policy here and abroad this spring and summer and is now teaching at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, it was understood that he had already received clearances from academic authorities. That he may have had other than academic commitments is indicated in a statement attributed to him in a Harrisburg newspaper. He told a reporter, the paper said, that he had written about half of the speech Secretary of State Dulles delivered at the Inter-American Conference at Caracas. Such an intimate association with the Administration could in itself explain his withdrawal. The Nineteenth District is now represented by a Republican.

His withdrawal was a severe blow to Democratic forces in the district, particularly in York County, where Democratic liberals had been counting on him to work closely during the campaign with George M. Leader, state senator from the county, who in February was picked by the party's state policy committee as its choice for nomination for governor. Certainly with respect to the forces engaged in denunciation, Leader and Kennan would have seen eye to eye. Indeed, Kennan's retirement leaves Leader as the only candidate of notable intellectual distinction on the state scene.

GEORGE LEADER, at thirty-six the youngest potential Pennsylvania governor of the century, has exhibited in four years in the state senate a remarkable grasp of public affairs and a sound liberal philosophy of government. One of six senators to vote against the so-called Pennsylvania "loyalty oath" bill, he explained his position in a speech eloquently citing the traditional religious freedoms of Pennsylvania as established by the founding Quakers and invoking the worth and dignity of the individual conscience. He sponsored, unsuccessfully, effective fair-employment-practices legislation, and his agricultural votes were consistently in the interest of owners of family-size farms. He is himself owner and operator of a chick hatchery, having established himself in the poultry business after his service in the navy, which followed upon undergraduate work at Gettysburg College and the University of Pennsylvania and graduate study in political science at the university.

Although Leader is the selection of the state policy committee and therefore favored both by Mayor Dave Lawrence of Pittsburgh, a power in Allegheny County, and by the warring party factions in Philadelphia, where the liberal Democratic wing headed by Mayor Joseph Clark and Richardson Dilworth is at constant odds with the old ward organization, his nomination at the primaries on May 18 is not entirely assured. Coronor William McLelland of Allegheny County, who has also filed for the nomination, has the support of a few district leaders and of the C. I. O. Steelworkers and is reported to be favored by Justice Michael A. Musmanno of the state Supreme Court, an "alarmed and excited" anti-Communist who two years ago won his place on the bench by defeating the policy committee's choice in the primaries.

Leader is admittedly not so well known in the state as was Richardson Dilworth, who ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1950, and his chances may be further lessened by his youth. He will be helped by his unquestionable sincerity, his respect for democratic tradition, his Quaker ancestry (on his mother's side), and his ability to put across his personality in a campaign. He also has the knack of getting on with people. But so does his probable opponent in the November election, Lieutenant Governor Lloyd B. Wood, an amiable professional politician who faces only token opposition in the primaries. Wood's chief embarrassment between now and November will be the sales tax passed at the last session of the legislature by the Republican majority. The Democrats to a man voted against the tax.

The political differences between Leader and Wood are not just matters of party label. Wood opened his campaign at a dinner of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association in Philadelphia. Leader opened his by speaking to a labor union in the coal region of Hazelton.

JAMES HIGGINS, Managing Editor,
York *Gazette and Daily*

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

"Brilliant" Sunrise?

The sudden "brilliant" sunrise that the Japanese fishermen saw from the deck of the 100-ton Lucky Dragon on the morning of March 1 lasted only eight seconds, but scientific measuring instruments spread over several hundreds miles of the Pacific were unable to record the full effects of the "unpredicted force." Kwajalein Island, 176 miles distant, was severely jarred, and radioactive debris was showered on the fishing boat cruising eighty miles away.

The social force of the explosion may prove to be even greater than the physical. A temporary food crisis was caused in Japan, where the people, after listening to United States army broadcasts warning American personnel not to eat fish in public places, lost their traditional appetite for fish. Twenty-three of the crew of the Lucky Dragon were hospitalized, and 264 persons, including 28 Americans, were "unexpectedly" exposed to radioactivity. Sections of the Japanese press, reflecting widespread popular concern over rearmament, denounced the explosion as "a second Hiroshima." A world fearful of atomic warfare read the news, moreover, in a context which included elaborate explanations from Secretary Dulles and President Eisenhower on the meaning of "massive retaliatory action," announcements of much greater explosions to come late in April, warnings by such good friends of this country as Canada's Lester Pearson that our allies want collective consultations to precede the application of collective sanctions against aggression, and Mr. Malenkov's announcement that atomic warfare means "the destruction of world civilization."

Let's Think While We Still Can

But one would never suspect the full implications of the news from the manner in which it was treated by the American press. The story appeared in the New York *Daily News* on page 28 and was followed by an editorial suggesting that "the next shot," scheduled for late April, be staged as a public show to terrorize the Russians. Other papers placed the news of the injured Japanese fishermen next to the announcement that "even bigger" explosions are to come. The press, however, can hardly be blamed for the unthinking manner in which the news was handled since the government has not seen fit to lift restrictions which would permit serious treatment. Not only is it clear that the nuclear scientists seriously miscalculated the force of the March 1 explosion but they seem to have reached a frontier of exploration beyond which pure theory ceases to be a reliable guide. While it may be true that thermo-nuclear blasts cannot ignite the atmosphere, there are scientists who recognize the possibility that reactions might be set off involving non-atmospheric elements, such as those in the earth's crust.

What happens to the huckster-like talk about "massive deterrent force" now that it is clear that explosions of this magnitude could have quite unforeseeable consequences? Could a nation recover from an attack of H-bombs in sufficient time to deliver that "massive retaliatory" blow? And there is the fact that the terrible magnitude achieved in itself suggests that an H-bomb can be made of comparatively inexpensive materials. Now would seem to be a good time, therefore, to call at least a temporary halt to any further efforts to gratify the curiosity of military strategists and to do some hard political thinking. One or two more explosions like this and we may not be able to think. For the impact on world opinion, and on domestic fears and anxieties, is as immeasurable as the force of the explosion itself. This is the kind of news that fosters the psychosis from which the world suffers today.

Investigators Investigating Investigators

A public delighted to see Senator McCarthy on the run for a change has been too quick to assume that a thorough investigation will now be made of the private war of Messrs. Cohn, Schine, and McCarthy against the United States army. To be sure, the Senator will not be in the chair; an outside counsel and staff will be retained; and other committee activities will meanwhile be halted. But the investigation starts under a cloud. Even the New York *Daily News,* which is usually quick to cheer Senator McCarthy, is dissatisfied with a makeshift arrangement which leaves the fact-finding to a committee of which he is a member. Will the Senator be permitted to vote? And why should the other members of the committee, who have been derelict in their duty to police its proceedings, be trusted with an inquiry of this importance?

The investigation belongs in the Senate Armed Services Committee. A basic issue of army morale is involved. Who are McCarthy's "plants" in the Pentagon? What

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is the extent of his fifth column in the Defense Department? It is unfortunate that both Senator Saltonstall and Senator Mundt are up for reelection this year. It is also unfortunate that there are more McCarthyites in Massachusetts than in South Dakota. But the public interest should take precedence over the Republican National Committee's appraisal of the relative impact of McCarthyism in the two states. Once again the Senate has failed to measure up to its responsibilities. Involved is what former Senator William Benton described, in submitting his original charges against McCarthy, as "the mighty symbolism of the Senate itself."

Our New Ally: Japan

The signing of the Tokyo-Washington mutual-defense pact finds the Japanese people divided and unhappy, as indicated in W. Macmahon Ball's remarkable article in this issue. Opposition to the pact has been voiced by conservatives as well as by the left. Many Japanese government leaders are deeply uneasy about the far-reaching consequences of a step which pledges the country's manpower and resources "not only to its own defense but to the defense of the free world." Under the agreement Japanese rearmament will proceed along the pattern established in other former enemy countries. American public opinion is perhaps not yet ready to accept the revival of the Japanese imperial army; in its stead the national police will be increased from its present strength of 120,000 to 160,000. Rebirth of the conventional armed forces will come in time. Last week Tokyo asked the United States for seventeen warships.

Many influential Japanese, and perhaps the majority of the people, prefer neutralism and renewed trade with China to a revival of militarism, even of a "defensive" variety. But on his recent trip to Asia Vice-President Nixon warned the Japanese that there would be no American aid without a "fighting" alliance. The American offer of $10,000,000 in military and economic aid, including food, within three months was a persuasive argument, and the Japanese signed. We have gained a new ally, but the cause of peace has lost another round.

Peace—or Another Little War

Unless the Security Council has decided to accept the Arab philosophy of violence as a substitute for its peacemaking machinery, it will promptly use its authority to initate a discussion of peace. The Arab ambush of an Israeli bus and the murder of eleven Israelis is the inevitable consequence of the council's failure to utilize the opportunity created by the tragedy at Kibya to press for a settlement of the Palestine war.

That failure has produced a chain reaction of events, all of them arising from the fact that the U. N., or at least the Western allies in the U. N., has refused to press

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the issue of which the Arabs are so distrustful—namely, peace.

The resulting situation is anarchy which could produce regional tragedy. If terror is unchallenged by authority, it can, as it already has done, overreach itself. The initiative to end violence will not come from the Arab states, which are responsible for the constant incitement against Israel. It must come from the international peace organization. Both the Charter and the U. N. provisions of the armistice agreements give the Security Council the authority to compel Jordan to participate in a conference with Israel. The situation which is developing is the most dangerous since the truce agreements were signed five years ago. What is the U. N. waiting for? The outbreak of another little war?

Formosan Politics

Chiang Kai-shek has been President of Nationalist China for twenty-six years and is presumably good for a few more terms on the basis of the election procedures now in use. Yet he by no means represents, as he likes to pretend, the united will of all "freedom-loving" Chinese. It is not only that it took two ballots by the National Assembly in Formosa to get him reelected earlier this week; at least three veteran Kuomintang officials have been read out of the party during the past year. Wang Shih-chieh, for many years a loyal supporter of the Generalissimo, was summarily cashiered last November in a revival of party strife. General Li Tsung-jen, vice-president of the National Assembly, was impeached early this month following his charges that the assembly's composition violated basic law and that Chiang himself was guilty of usurpation of power. Today the storm centers on Dr. K. C. Wu, recently governor of Formosa and now in this country, who in a letter to the National Assembly last February declared that "police-state" methods were being used in Formosa. As a result he has been expelled from the Kuomintang, dismissed as Minister Without Portfolio, and ordered to return—an order which he has not so far obeyed.

It looks as if the Anti-Communist National Salvation Congress, next important political event scheduled for Formosa, would devote more energy to domestic brawling than to fighting Communists.

Heresy and the High Mind

BY JOHN CIARDI

Princeton, New Jersey

COLLEGE classes must have been poorly attended on Saturday, March 13. Some four thousand editors of school and college newspapers were at Columbia winding up a three-day conference sponsored by the Columbia Scholastic Press Association and listening to a far-ranging lot of speakers, among whom were Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias, Provost John A. Krout of Columbia, and Herbert Philbrick, free-lance advertising man.

On the same day two hundred teachers gathered at the Nassau Tavern in Princeton under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to honor Albert Einstein and to discuss his written answers to five questions on "The Meaning of Academic Freedom." The teachers did less than the students to depopulate the classrooms; not only were there fewer of them, but many of those present were Fifth Amendment ex-teachers with no classes to go to. Among the panelists were Charles A. Allen, president of the Newark Federation of Teachers, A. F. of L.; the Reverend John W. Bradbury, editor of the *Watchman Examiner;* Professor Barrows Dunham, ex-Temple University; Dr. Mary Van Kleeck, former director of studies of the Russell Sage Foundation; Dr. Corliss Lamont, Columbia; Professor John Somerville, lecturer in social science at Cornell and Harvard; I. F. Stone; Professor Dirk Struik, on suspension from M. I. T.; and your present reporter.

One sign of the times was most visible to me before the meeting. It seems that the Princeton newspaper called up the Rutgers newspaper in hot haste to find out if I had ever been hauled before a committee. They were told I had not been and thereupon made a special note of the fact that I was the only scheduled panelist who had not been required to buy a ticket to Washington. I could at least count on good company.

I don't know what public discussions accomplish in final terms, and frankly I dislike them as a matter of temperament. The trouble with public discussion is that it draws out the least interesting part of the human race, its Public-speaking Face. In the same way that to witness Congress in action is to invite a trauma, all Earnestness on its Feet bothers me. On the other hand, one must certainly be even more bothered by Fear in its Hole. Which is to say, I suppose, that I am emotionally an anarchist and a pretty low-minded one.

Let me make it clear that I am talking from my own temperament. Some day I hope to call a conference of the Low-minded for Civil Liberties. Until then I am driven by conscience to sit with the High-minded and wait for America to recover its sense of humor. I should like to call my organization the Heretics un-Emergency Committee for Spitting in the Public Eye. Meanwhile, the name of the organization that called the Princeton meeting is the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and the work it did was well done.

The tone of the meeting was set by the considered intransigence of Einstein's replies to the five questions submitted to him, which concerned (a) the nature of academic freedom, (b) the present threat to it, (c) and (d) the democratic responsibilities of the citizen, and of the intellectual, and (e) what can be done to help

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"the victims of political inquisition." Professor Einstein's answers may be summarized in one word, "Resist": resist all pressures to establish an "official" truth, resist all efforts to intimidate academic and public discussion.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has done a valuable thing in publicizing Einstein's stand and is doing another valuable thing in giving support and aid to those who have lost their jobs for refusing to testify. Needless to say, the committee has been called simply dreadful names, and I have no doubt that I have just returned from a frightful nest of subversives. Stooge that I am, I even liked what was said, and found myself agreeing with most of it. But if I may once more register a temperamental opposition, the *tone* was wrong. I am not sure but what the tone of the dissenters is now set by the orthodox. Before you can feel free to speak up for the Constitution you are now under the official necessity to recite "I hate communism." You must then demonstrate that you are high-minded and no nonsense about it.

But it's no show just to protect the serious, the solemn, and the high-minded. We must protect the flippant, the zany, the heretical, and the downright queer. The Constitution gives every American the inalienable right to make a damnfool of himself. It's a right I manage to take advantage of at least once a day, and one in which all of the Congress and most of the electorate manages to keep pace with me with no sign of getting winded. Granted, one may suffer for insisting on being the officially unrecognized kind of damnfool. So be it. I find nothing in the Constitution that says your orthodox neighbors have to like you if you choose to be heretical. The duty is to be yourself in the face of orthodoxy. There is no duty to survive it. If you want to be safe join the American Legion. For myself, I'd rather be Barrows Dunham out of work than Joe McCarthy working overtime.

LET no one understand me as saying there is no threat from American fascism—or whatever you want to call it; the threat is there and I don't like it. But to be heretical and respectable at the same time is asking for too much. You have to defend the heretic or you have nothing to defend, and you take the consequences either way. As for Joe, I am happy to advocate force and violence: kick him downstairs if he comes around. But don't forget to brush his hat before you throw it after him. Remember, he's a United States Senator.

Meanwhile I found myself formulating my own civil-rights position on the way back from Princeton, and here it is for whatever it's worth: "I mean to shoot off my mouth on any subject under any circumstances, and if you don't like it, isn't that too bad?"

JOHN CIARDI, poetry critic of The Nation, *lectures on creative writing at Rutgers University.*

Indo-China and E. D. C.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE nearer the Geneva conference approaches, the more distressing for France becomes the close connection between the achievement of peace in Indo-China and the ratification of the European Defense Community. According to French sources, the United States Ambassador, Douglas Dillon, recently warned Foreign Minister Bidault that there is no possibility of America recognizing the Peking government in exchange for the cessation of Communist China's aid to Vietminh. Moreover, according to the same sources, M. Bidault was told that the support France would receive at Geneva would depend on the Assembly's ratification of E. D. C. before the conference meets on April 26.

Both the American embassy and the Quai d'Orsay rejected the reports as ridiculous. M. Bidault had earlier denied before the Assembly Edouard Daladier's charge that there existed a confidential exchange of letters with Washington which bound the Foreign Minister not to negotiate with Moscow, Peking, or Ho Chi-minh without American approval. True or not, such reports make the atmosphere in Paris heavy with anxiety.

The matter is complicated by two things: first, the bad military news from the front; second, the obstinacy of the representatives of Bao Dai, currently negotiating in Paris, in demanding absolute independence for Vietnam. This issue has again divided the French Cabinet and revived the old controversy between M. Bidault, who insists that French prerogatives be maintained, and Paul Reynaud, who is convinced that nothing short of unconditional independence for Vietnam will solve the problem.

All this is dramatized by the present battle, the bloodiest of the long war. The violence of the Vietminh assault was no surprise to the experts, some of whom told me recently in Paris that the question of full-scale Chinese intervention in the war, entailing the danger of drastic counter-action by the United States, has become academic. Ho Chi-minh, the experts told me, no longer needs such help; his armies are now strong enough for his purposes. Thus there is no necessity for Peking to endanger the political advantages it derives from the Korean armistice and may derive from Geneva.

THE development of the situation on both fronts—the military at Hanoi and the political in Paris—has put the Laniel Cabinet in a particularly difficult situation. The opposition has little faith in the Geneva conference, if it is here that the position of M. Bidault must prevail. This lack of confidence was vigorously expressed by the applause Pierre Mendès-France received after his speech in the National Assembly, from which he emerged as

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the leader of a new majority which one day may come to power. Addressing M. Bidault he said: "Involved in your strategy is your unavowed hope that the United States will continue to increase its military aid to France. Thus the Geneva conference is nothing more than a diplomatic cover to permit the war to continue after having made a pretense of seeking a peace—it is a pretext, an alibi." Mendès-France asked for direct negotiations with Ho Chi-minh without waiting for Geneva.

The partisans of E. D. C. ask that it be ratified before Geneva. In this connection two facts should be recorded. The Berlin conference proved that as long as the Western powers adhere to E. D. C. and the rearmament of Germany without taking into consideration any of Mr. Molotov's ideas on European security, no accord with Russia is possible. The French opposition to M. Bidault fears that ratification of E. D. C. before Geneva would make the Russians more uncompromising than ever and destroy any hope of Kremlin help in ending the war in Indo-China. The second point is that those who sought to exploit the lack of agreement at Berlin to force ratification of E. D. C. have failed. Opposition to E. D. C. is increasing within the Socialist Party, mainly as a consequence of the impressive report presented by Jules Moch, as well as among the Gaullists. One of the Gaullist spokesmen, Philippe Barrès, has gone so far as to predict that "it is possible that E. D. C. could blow the Atlantic alliance sky high."

TODAY'S JAPAN

A Return to the Past . . . *by W. Macmahon Ball*

Tokyo, Japan

A LOT of water has flowed under Japan's bridges since I left here at the end of 1947.

Physically the Japanese are obviously much better off, however precarious their present standards. Mentally, I think they are more divided and unhappy than they were six years ago.

The material improvements are apparent everywhere. Six years ago there remained vast waste lands in the cities, strewn with the litter left by the air raids. These areas have all been cleaned up and mostly rebuilt, though there is still an acute housing shortage and many of the public buildings, especially the schools, seem neglected and derelict. The people in the streets are far better clothed and shod, and look much better fed. The traffic no longer consists mainly of occupation vehicles sweeping past decrepit Japanese cars and trucks limping along uncertainly on charcoal gas. The city streets are now jammed with motor traffic, and I have seen more Cadillacs and Buicks in Tokyo in an hour than I would see in Australia in a year. It is mainly the Japanese, not the foreigners, who are buying the most opulent automobiles and spending fabulous sums on Tokyo's fabulous night life. It is not, of course, the Japanese on salaries and wages who indulge in this conspicuous consumption of synthetic gaiety. It is the tycoons with expense accounts and the smart operators who have cashed in on the Korean war boom.

Some people tell me that the bustling and noise and glitter on the Ginza are only ripples on the surface of city life, concealing the real nature of the national life. But I think they are symptoms of the restlessness, anxiety, and conflict pervading Japan today. Six years ago the Japanese had few mental conflicts, because they did not have to make decisions. The Emperor made the great decision for them, that they should surrender. Then General MacArthur took the responsibility. This made life morally simple, even though it was physically poor and bleak. But since the peace treaty the Japanese feel they have regained, or should have regained, some freedom of choice, and they don't know what to choose. This inner conflict is most evident in the worried search for a foreign policy. Mr. Yoshida and his conservative colleagues blandly declare —American papers, please copy—that Japan has freely chosen to align itself with its sister democracies against the Communist world. The opposition, which includes most of the intellectuals and a large part of the press, as well as the two Socialist parties, denounces the Yoshida government for its subservience to Washington and insists that Japan must take an independent course, in economics and in politics. But both sides are unhappy because both lack real confidence in the courses they advocate.

Most government leaders are deeply uneasy about where compliance with America's wishes will ultimately lead them. They privately doubt that a military alliance with the West can give Japan security, for to the Japanese, security means saving their cities from devas-

About the Author

W. Macmahon Ball, a contributing editor of *The Nation* and author of "Japan: Enemy or Ally?" formerly represented the British Commonwealth on the Allied Control Commission in Japan. This is the first of two articles he is preparing on his current visit to the Far East. In a note accompanying his manuscript Mr. Ball wrote: "I have had a wonderful time here meeting a fair cross-section of the people. I have also had an audience with the Emperor. I hope this will not disqualify me as a contributor to *The Nation*." Mr. Ball's second article will appear in an early issue.

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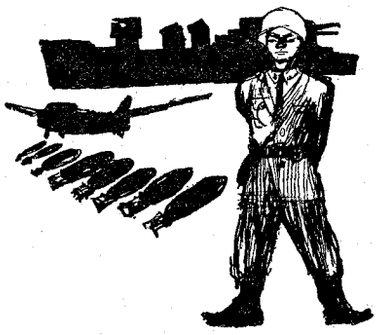
tation during a war, not the liberation of their cities after a war. They fear the economic strains rearmament will involve, even if America carries a good part of the burden. They doubt that Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai can be depended on as



purchasers of Japan's arms exports. Yet they feel they cannot possibly spurn America's immediate economic aid. Since the cease-fire in Korea, American spending here has dropped sharply and the overseas trade deficit is increasing fast. Business men feel the government will drastically restrict imports. Their speculative buying has already caused prices of soya beans, sugar, and oils and fats to soar above last year's levels. In this situation the government can hardly reject American grain for people who would otherwise go hungry or American arms orders for factories that would otherwise close down. But to get the needed aid they must press forward with rearmament on something like the scale America considers necessary. So they are doing this, though grudgingly and anxiously. The government has framed an austerity budget, but it is hard to persuade the masses that they should cut down on their food and clothing when they read of the lavish gifts big business can still afford to make to helpful politicians and officials.

The opposition claims the government could easily, if it had the will, stand firm against American pressure to rearm. The left Socialists, closely linked with the biggest trade unions, seem to be the best-organized and most resolutely led opposition group. They want Japan to refuse economic aid and insist on the withdrawal of all American military forces from these islands. They say Japan should achieve economic independence through greater trade with East Asia, especially Communist China, and political independence by cooperating closely with neutralist nations like India and Indonesia. In this way a formidable Third Force might be built in Asia.

THE NON-COMMUNIST opposition groups contain, in my view, the most liberal, most civilized, and most enlightened people in Japan. These are people who deeply desire that Japan shall live in peace and active friendship with both East and West. They are opposed to dictatorship, from either the right or the left. If democracy can come to Japan, these are the people who will bring it.

Yet I cannot feel that the Japanese liberals and radicals—I am here leaving out the Communists—have the unity or strength to enable them to come to power. They lack a solid popular base. Despite the growth of trade unions in number and size since 1945, paternalism still saturates Japanese industrial relations. Despite the land reforms which made so many tenants the owners of the fields they cultivate, the farm villages are still mostly conservative strongholds. And more than half the people of Japan are still farmers and fishermen. The social structure in the countryside still gives immense power to the well-to-do farmers. In the small village polling centers it is easy for them to discover how the tenants and the poorer farmers vote. Anyone who casts a radical vote is likely to find life much harder.

The non-Communist left also seems to be a little lacking in realism. While its leaders understand in an academic sort of way the complexity of Japan's economic and political problems, they tend to think in terms of platforms and manifestoes and protests rather than of how, in this obviously wicked world, they can get actual political power and of how, if they get the power, they can put their program into effect. Perhaps they are too honest and idealistic, and not tough or unscrupulous enough, to play politics according to the current rules. Some leftists, for example, have assured me that if they do not win a clear majority at the next Diet elections, they certainly will at the elections after next. And they explain their confidence by pointing to the clear trend toward the left in the last two elections, which they believe will continue. My own view is that the rightists—the people behind the present government—will take very good care that the left does not achieve this majority. I imagine that the present efforts to restrict further the political activities of teachers and to reestablish a centralized police force under the direct control of the Prime Minister are steps to insure that the conservatives will not lose power through elections or any other way.

There can be no doubt that increased trade with Communist China would be of great importance to Japan, and that it therefore seems desirable to take all possible steps to achieve it. But some influential leftists seem almost to believe that if only Japan would cut loose from America the China trade would solve its economic problems overnight. It seems to me to be still uncertain whether Communist China would be prepared to trade with Japan to the extent that would enable Japan to become an economically and politically independent force in Asia. It may be that China so greatly needs machine tools and all sorts of capital equipment from Japan that it would be ready to supply coking coal and iron ore in the volume and at the price that would put Japan's heavy industries on a firm basis. On the other hand, it may be that China can get its capital equipment elsewhere, and that for political reasons it would be anxious to hinder, not help, Japan's economic restoration. Nobody here seems to know what Peking's attitude is to this basic issue. It would surely be impetuous and unrealistic for the Japanese government to fling off the American embrace until it has a firm and sizable Peking trade agreement in its pocket.

WHILE all the parties are confused and irresolute about foreign policy, the trend in domestic affairs is unmistakable. The government is very busy "correcting the excesses of the occupation." Japan is returning to the past.

The leaders of the past are again in key positions. Eight members of the present Cabinet are men who were once purged. When Mr. Yoshida's Liberals and Mr. Hatoyama's Liberals patched up their quarrel three months ago, they set up two committees to plot the government's course. Mr. Nobusata Kishi was named chairman of the Constitu-

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tional Review Committee. During the war Mr. Kishi was Minister for Commerce under General Tojo and later spent some time in Sugamo Prison as a war criminal. It is not hard to detect the general direction in which he wants to revise the constitution. Mr. Suichi Tsushima is the chairman of the new Foreign Affairs Research Committee. He served in two war-time Cabinets and in the 1930's was a leader of Japanese enterprise in China, at one time being president of the North China Development Company.

Japanese conservatives tell me that this return of former leaders does not mean a return to former policies. These men, it is claimed, formed the civilian group in pre-war politics which always tried, though unsuccessfully, to restrain the militarists. The generals and admirals who made the war have gone. In any case, these old civilian leaders are able to learn from experience, and after all the pain and loss of these last years would never again dream of challenging the Western world.

I think it is true that Japan has neither the will nor the power to revive an aggressive militarism in the near future. But the foreign policy of the more distant future is likely to reflect the domestic changes that take place in the meantime. Two important bills now befor the Diet reveal the patterr of domestic change.

THE GOVERNMENT is resolved to impose new restrictions on the political activities of school teachers. Before the war any teacher who encouraged a liberal or critical approach to public questions was instantly dismissed and probably imprisoned. Then during the occupation a band of American experts, glowing with idealism, set out to transform the educational system, and the Fundamental Law of Education of 1947 established the "neutrality" of teachers. They were not to indoctrinate their students in behalf of the government or of any political party; it was their duty to make a neutral or objective approach to all political and social questions. But that was seven years ago. Today the government feels that these educational reforms were one of the worst excesses of the occupation. The pending legislation will prevent any teacher in a public school from engaging in any political activity except voting. He will not, for example, be permitted to work in any political party, even outside his school district.

The government maintains that the Japan Teachers' Union, some 500,000 strong, has been infiltrated by Communists and fellow-travelers; that its members are using their prestige as scholars to promote seditious thoughts; that it is as important to defend democracy from the extreme left as from the extreme right. The opponents of these bills claim that the government is trying to crush any critical consideration of its policies and to deprive teachers of their basic rights as citizens. The view is widely expressed that the government's eagerness to push through these bills before the next elections is mainly due to the success of the sixteen opposition candidates backed by the Teachers' Union at the last elections.

I think it is probable that some Japanese teachers today embrace communism with the same fanaticism with which they previously embraced nationalism and militarism. The defeat and the occupation have not increased their critical capacities but merely swung them from one blind loyalty to another. Yet I cannot accept the government's protestations that the danger is great enough to demand the measures it insists on. I have talked with a number of scholars about these teachers' bills, men whose record shows them to be courageous opponents of authoritarianism, whether from the right or the left. Those I have met are without exception appalled at the government's policy. The feeling among many scholars here is that the appointment of Mr. Shigeo Odachi as Minister for Education means a quick twilight and a long night for freedom of thought. Mr. Odachi held office in the Abe Cabinet in 1939 and the Koiso Cabinet of 1944. He was mayor of Singapore in 1942. He is used to authority. Yet it is proper to add that so far as I can discover the conservative governments have until now shown great restraint in using the very considerable legal power they already possess to suppress independent thought. This record of past restraint makes many people wonder why the present government should seek more extensive powers. Some people cynically suggest that so far the intellectuals have not had enough influence to be any danger.

The government is sponsoring another bill to reestablish a single, centralized control of the police. Before the war the police inspired fear and awe in every city and village of Japan. During the occupation American reformers felt that if democracy was to take root here, the police must come to be regarded as the friends and servants, not the jailers, of the people. The first step was to make them more directly responsible to the local communities they served. Under the Police Reform Law of 1947 all cities and towns were given their own police force, controlled by the elected local authorities. The countryside was to be looked after by the National Rural Police, a separate body. The government now claims that this is a hopelessly inefficient arrangement and has decided to unify all existing forces under the direct control of the Prime Minister. The opposition claims that this is a return to past arrangements which most citizens still dread. It certainly seems the sort of system that would be well adapted to an authoritarian regime.

MEANWHILE the "shipping scandals" are rocking government and business circles. A number of leading business men, together with a group of politicians close to the government, have been arrested in the last few weeks. There are new "disclosures" and a new crop of arrests each day. It is reported that the members of the Crown Prosecutor's staff are falling asleep at their desks from exhaustion. Tokyo's central prison is no longer able to accommodate its new wealthy inmates, and their friends are protesting that these distinguished and cultivated citizens are being forced to share jail dormitories with

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ordinary thieves. The critics of the government are full of glee, declaring that the scandals show the government is rotten with corruption. Mr. Yoshida, whose personal integrity has never been questioned, blandly explains that Japan is not the only country in which business men sometimes take Cabinet Ministers to dinner or in which business firms make contributions to political parties.

It is hardly possible to assess the weight of all the charges and counter-charges, but there is no doubt that the general public, both on the right and the left, believes there has been political bribery on an unprecedented scale and is shocked and disgusted. The real importance of the public reaction is not the effect it may have on the fate of the present government, or even on Mr. Yoshida's own political future, but the fact that it has produced a revulsion against the whole idea of parliamentary government and a yearning for the strong, honest patriot who will send corrupt politicians packing. This swing away from democracy to authoritarianism will, in Japan's present political mood, almost certainly mean a strong swing to the right.

DOUBTFUL VICTORY

The Score at Caracas . . *by Lee Randy*

Caracas, Venezuela

THE Latin American nations indorsed by a large majority the Dulles draft declaration of solidarity among the American states against intervention by international communism. Only Guatemala voted against it. Mexico and Argentina abstained; Uruguay and Bolivia approved with reservations.

Unquestionably this was a resounding, if hardly unexpected, victory for United States diplomacy. Whether it was also a victory for good inter-American relations is another matter. The vote for approval, though overwhelming, was in large measure reluctant; even as they voted "aye," many delegates expressed fear that the declaration might do more to open the door to United States intervention in Latin America than to close it against Russian. Mr. Dulles, in urging the declaration as a means of protecting the democratic institutions of the continent, received his most emphatic support from the notably undemocratic governments of the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and Paraguay.

In weighing the effect of the victory on inter-American relations, one must reckon not only with what the United States sought at Caracas but with what the Latin Americans wanted. From the beginning it was clear that the latter were much less disturbed by the menace of communism than by poverty and colonialism. They wanted, quite simply, United States help in the amelioration of both. It was forthcoming in neither case. Discussion of basic economic issues was postponed for a later meeting to be held in Brazil. On the question of the abolition of colonialism, the United States stood alone against a united Latin America. While indorsing the principle of independence for all peoples, the delegation from Washington argued that the issue was one for the United Nations rather than for an inter-American conference "at which none of the colonial powers is represented."

THE CONFERENCE was opened with all the usual color of such affairs, plus an extraordinary display of wealth by the Venezuelan government. The modern buildings of the recently completed University City seemed props made to order for the presentation of the United States argument that local governments and North American business interests can work together for their mutual benefit.

From the day that Senator Wiley of Wisconsin denounced Guatemala as a beach-head of international communism, the program of the United States delegation was limited to a single issue. Mr. Dulles went to Caracas to obtain from the Latin American nations a collective agreement to resist international communism. This agreement, a new kind of Monroe Doctrine, was designed to guard the American continent against the influence of so-called subversive ideas from abroad.

The Secretary of State did not expect to encounter any major difficulties, since an anti-Communist resolution was passed unanimously at the Bogotá conference in 1948. Yet by the time Guillermo Toriello, head of the Guatemalan delegation, delivered his first speech, the difficulties were very evident. Less than five hours after Toriello's speech the Secretary of State realized he was on the defensive and issued a statement answering with indignation all the accusations made by Toriello. He then asked for the prompt convening of the work committee for the discussion of political issues, and introduced his declaration on international communism. In fact, the obstacles he encountered forced Mr. Dulles to delay his departure and postpone his Philadelphia speech scheduled for March 10. John Cabot Lodge arrived unexpectedly the next day, presumably to attend the conference as a United Nations observer. When Toriello, in the third plenary session, accused the United States of interfering with the internal affairs of Guatemala and using the pretext of crusading against international communism to defend the monopolistic interests of the United Fruit Company, members of the other Latin American delegations applauded wildly and hugged him as he went back to his seat.

The draft declaration presented by Dulles asked for measures to require disclosure of the identity, activities, and sources of funds of those who spread the propaganda of the international Communist movement, travel in the

LEE RANDY is a Latin American journalist.

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interests of that movement, or act as its agents or in its behalf. Governments were asked to exchange information that would help them to fulfil the purpose of the resolutions adopted by the conference regarding international communism. The declaration also stated that the domination or control of the political institutions of any American state by the international Communist movement, which would mean extending to this hemisphere the political system of an extra-continental power, would constitute a threat to the political independence of the American states and the peace of America and would call for appropriate action in accordance with existing treaties.

GUATEMALA opposed this declaration as violating the long-fought-for policy of non-intervention. The Mexican delegation explained that all communism was international, but differentiated between foreign-promoted and home-grown communism. Roberto Córdova, the Mexican representative on the political committee, stated that the nations of the continent would join to resist Communist aggression against any one of them, but that if any American country decided on its own to have a Communist form of government, that was its inherent privilege, and the other nations could not interfere without violating the sacred doctrine of non-intervention.

The Mexican and Uruguayan delegations proposed amendments stating that a social and economic policy designed to raise the standard of living of their peoples and a political system guaranteeing the basic liberties and rights of the individual would be the most effective means of promoting resistance to all totalitarian aggression. These amendments, like the one presented by Cecilia Remón, wife of the President of Panama, asking for the abolition of racial discrimination in America with specific reference to the Canal Zone, were supported by most Latin American speakers. Mr. Dulles, however, refused to include them in his declaration.

The Uruguayan delegation argued that defense of the American system required the fullest development of representative democracy and the ever-greater protection of individual rights in all the members of the Organization of American States. Its resolution recommended that each of the governments, within the limits of its constitutional powers, take preventive steps against all types of subversive activity within its jurisdiction. In all the political debates Uruguay filled the role of the representative of true democracy.

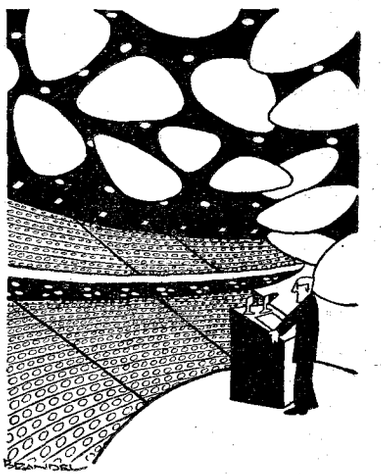
The amendments to the draft declaration presented by the Argentine delegation condemned the activities of international communism in so far as they constitute intervention in the internal affairs of the American states. But they expressed greater concern over intervention by other continental powers.

In a last-minute effort to quiet the fear of such intervention the United States delegation added to its declaration a clause stating that it was designed to protect and not impair the inalienable rights of each American state freely to choose its own kind of government and economic system and to live its own social and cultural life.

Mr. Dulles's declaration was passed without any substantial changes. What effect it will have only time will show. But its adoption must have seemed of primary importance to the United States, for Mr. Dulles departed immediately after the vote, leaving the delegates of the other nations wondering whether the anti-Communist declaration was the only purpose of the conference. Many of them speculated on how the great liberator, Bolívar, would have voted.

Once they had accepted the United States declaration, the Latin American delegates found themselves without the bargaining power necessary to demand a solution for their critical economic problems.

Whether the declaration will foster an international form of McCarthyism that will lead to the burning of books and thought control, as the Guatemalan delegate predicted, is of course a subject of dispute. The experience of the Guatemalan delegate would indicate that there is a real danger. Even during the conference it was risky for any local newspapermen to interview Toriello. And the copies of his speeches were distributed to the members of the press much more slowly than those of other delegates. For example, the speech delivered by Toriello at the first plenary session was not distributed until long after the answer to



it by Dulles was in the hands of every newspaperman.

The efforts of the present Guatemalan administration to recover the national wealth and resources mortgaged by feudal or dictatorial governments have been attacked by the United States government and press as evidence of Communist domination. The Caracas conference served as a public platform from which to present the case of the government of Guatemala. Unquestionably Communists hold high office in the regime. More significant is the fact that Guatemala, like most Latin American countries, needs economic and social reforms before representative democracy can be established on a firm basis. The 1950 census revealed that small farmers with holdings of less than 3.5 hectares (the majority of them simple tenants) made up 72 per cent of the agricultural producers but held only 9 per cent of the total land area. At the other extreme, 2 per cent of the farm owners held 78 per cent of the land, and among them twenty-two owners of estates containing more than 9,000 hectares each held 13 per cent of all the land.

It would be tragic for Guatemala and the rest of the Americas if certain basic reforms now under way in this Central American republic were stopped by the new continental policy formulated at the Caracas conference. Already the case of Guatemala is being defended all over the world by prominent non-Communists—among them, Lázaro Cárdenas, former president of Mexico; Pedro de Alba, former director of the Pan-American Union and Mexican ambassador to the United Nations; and the well-known Catholic poet Carlos Pellicer.

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McCARTHYISM

A Psychiatric Diagnosis . . . *by R. C. Murphy, Jr.*

SOME of the unconscious aims of McCarthyism may be recognized by their effect on its adherents; others are less obvious. It is clear, for instance, that McCarthyism exhorts us to attack and destroy something—which it labels "Communist" or "communism"—rather than to be "constructive" in any particular way. One of its subtler aims is not to destroy communism but to build it up, in its own image. It seeks to make communism into a more malignant and sinister force so that McCarthyism by "exposing" it will appear a more heroic champion of American ideals. The lifeblood of McCarthyism is to be perpetually attacking and being attacked. From the psychological point of view, it seems an accident of circumstance that communism became the object of its attacks.

Our feeble protests against McCarthyism may clear our conscience, but they also strengthen the movement, which has developed an amazing talent for thriving on hostile thrusts. No matter how short the fuse, most hand grenades thrown at McCarthyism are thrown back just in time to explode at their starting point. If we object that people are "smeared" without evidence or by association, we are told that the accusation blatantly "smears" McCarthyism. If we say the spokesmen of McCarthyism lie and deceive the public, we are told the charge proves how unscrupulously we try to discredit those spokesmen. If detractors coin the word "McCarthyism" to show their contempt for the movement, Senator McCarthy himself boldly seizes on the term as the title of his book. Even if we only faintly hint disapproval of McCarthyism, the hints are picked up, translated into savage attacks, and directed back to their source. McCarthyism never ducks or denies anything, and our petulant complaints that its methods are not those of gentlemen and sportsmen do no more good than Colonel Blimp's shaking an outraged finger at a *Luftwaffe* plane screaming into its bombing dive.

Most of us choose to remain blind to our own guilty part in the nation-wide social sickness which has recently reached a peak under Senator McCarthy's aegis. It is easy to forget that McCarthyism was not created by the junior Senator from Wisconsin any more than the steam age was created by James Watt. As a matter of fact, if the Senator were to die or be discredited tomorrow, there is no reason to think that McCarthyism would be cured or even diminished. Perhaps it would become even more menacing through being directed by subtler and more acceptable voices. The very boorishness and vulgarity of its chief spokesman may now serve as some protection against its unqualified acceptance in certain circles, for example, the universities and the clergy. Discrediting Senator McCarthy would be only one step in a long and painful struggle back to national health.

THE psychological keystone of the whole structure of McCarthyism is its success in stripping all meaning from the word "Communist." In Senator McCarthy's book, for instance, the word appears between ten and thirty times on nearly every page, and yet there is no statement in its whole 101 pages defining a Communist or saying what a Communist believes—nothing to help the reader to recognize a Communist if he sees one. The effect of this failure to give content to the word is to reduce it to an almost pure communication of feeling rather than meaning. Probably no other word in contemporary English has such an impact of the sinister, evil, and mysterious. It is comparable to the impact of the word "homosexual." However, "Communist" is a more devastating concept because it has been systematically built up as a vague but powerful threat. The mystery and fear that surround it create a sense of overwhelming need for a protector against a danger which one cannot cope with or even visualize.

In Senator McCarthy's book the "protector" is painted in attractive terms. Sometimes directly but more frequently by inference, the author informs his readers that he is fearless, honest, brilliant, clever, rather like Abraham Lincoln, friendly, patriotic, religious, a respecter of American motherhood, and as indestructible as a comic-strip hero. This last is heavily played up: he is constantly under attack by evil subversive forces, but always in the nick of time he outwits his enemies and triumphs with all the certainty of virtue. The underlying communication in this carefully drawn self-portrait is that one should not think for oneself but leave the whole matter to statesmen of greater vision, skill, and courage. The ordinary man would be wise not to fool with dangerous things he does not understand; he had better play Follow the Leader.

If people are not brought into line by these persuasions, McCarthyism has an even more potent device. Since the word "communism" always suggests evil, it implies the personal guilt of anyone who listens to and is affected by it. It has been said that if a man stands on the street corner and accosts every passer-by with the ominous whisper "I know your secret," sooner or later he will be able to collect blackmail money. If you are secretly hostile, cowardly, deceitful, or guilty of sexually immoral day dreams, then these are the qualities that are found in Communists.

While you know you are not a Communist, the probability that the Communist stands for the intensely personal concept of evil that you are striving to keep out of your own life makes him dangerously close to home. Of course you are not a Communist, but better make sure no one mistakes you for one. Per-

ROBERT C. MURPHY, JR., M. D., psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, has written on child psychiatry and parents-group education.

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haps it is better to deny all your "inner self"—including, it may be added, any dissatisfaction with the existing order and all hope of change or growth—than to take chances on having the finger of shame pointed at your most private thoughts. (After all, you have a wife and family and a social and business position to maintain, and while you know that Tom is only a little liberal in his ideas it might be best not to seem too close to him, at least until all this "hysterical" talk blows over.) It is, incidentally, precisely through this denial of the "inner self," which is to say of all creative expression, that McCarthyism indorses our most vulgar and stereotyped emotions and condemns all people who think with sensitivity and freedom, lumping them together as "confused intellectuals."

The ability of the word "Communist" to dredge up an unconscious concept of evil accounts for its all-or-none quality; in the unconscious, things are either totally black or dazzlingly white. A similar absolutism characterizes our attitude toward mental illness, which also excites vague and mysterious fears rooted in the unconscious. It is epitomized in the attitude toward psychiatrists of an old regular-army commanding medical officer during the last war who would peevishly tell the "nutcracker" not to give him a lot of "fancy talk" but to answer the simple question: "Is he nuts or ain't he nuts?" In the concept of "Communist" no shadings are permitted; one either "is" or "isn't."

ANOTHER unconscious aim of McCarthyism is to foster social disintegration and decay. Through making people distrustful of their institutions it tries to frighten them into accepting a changed and less complex social structure. If one meets the word "Communist" thirty times per page in Senator McCarthy's book and a thousand times per week in newspapers and broadcasts, one is likely to be less worried about sin and salvation, poverty and race relations, inflationary spirals, the democratic functioning of one's own community. If all these problems can be subordinated to the threat of communism, then it should be possible to take apart our existing social structure and more or less simultaneously put it together again under the protectorship of McCarthyism, in which life is infinitely simplified and there is only one "evil" and one "good."

An illustration of this aim is found on the last page of Senator McCarthy's book. In 100 pages there has appeared not only no clarification of the word "Communist" but no suggestion as to what should be done about the menace. On page 101 McCarthy makes one of his rare statements to the American public on what they can "do about it." He urges parents to go into the educational system and do exactly what McCarthyism does. "This is your greatest contribution to America. This is a job which you can do. This is a job which you must do if America and Western civilization are to live." The parent must sweep our schools and colleges clean of "Communist infiltration," "Communist-minded teachers," and "Communist-line textbooks." The parent who suspects a certain teacher of being a Communist is to be the only judge of the truth of his suspicion. Furthermore, there is an infallible rule by which a Communist betrays himself: the reader is informed that if anyone opposes him in his task of ferreting out Communists he may safely assume that that person is himself a Communist or at least Communist-minded.

BUT THE most dangerous of McCarthyism's unconscious aims is its drive toward war. To the extent that we partake in the movement, we find a more and more warlike spirit crystallizing in us, though consciously we have only a passionate desire for peace. The result is the paradox of people wanting, against their will, to get into a war. Though they do not want to fight, they are systematically made angrier and angrier at something that they have been given no opportunity to understand but only to label.

The potency of McCarthyism's drive toward war derives from its use of the word "Communist" not in reference to live human beings but as a projection of guilt. The underlying propositions might run: As an American you are sincere, open, humorous, resourceful, full of know-how, free to think as you please, chock-full of fair play. The Communist, in contrast, is the personification of all that you hold evil. If you want to get rid of all corruption and evil, you need only—and here is McCarthyism's most dangerous and seductive swindle—make a holy crusade to destroy the Communist. Note that the "Communist" of McCarthyism is a

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generic term embracing not just American Communists but a quarter of the world's population.

Stringfellow Barr in his book "Let's Join the Human Race" tells us that we are losing the fight against communism precisely because we are mistaking it for our chief problem and trying to attack it directly. Actually our chief problem is not communism but the fact that most of the inhabitants of our world are starving, diseased, and illiterate and that we are doing almost nothing about it. It is easy to see why we make the mistake he speaks of. It is because it is less painful to us to attack the Communist than to try to relieve the misery of people living outside our rich and comfortable country. But there is a vicious circle in this mistake, for the more we throw ourselves into the "defense against communism" the less time and money is left for the relief of the world's suffering.

McCarthyism expresses and enhances our need to turn our hatreds outward and thus brings us closer to war. It should be pointed out, however, that our acquiescence in a war drive is entirely independent of the true nature of world communism. If communism is in fact an evil social movement, then we are using "reality" to blind ourselves to things we would prefer not to know about ourselves. If communism is not such a malignant force, then we are distorting reality for the same purpose. In either case, the point is that McCarthyism fosters drives within us which want to destroy not only our social structure but the whole world—drives which have no relationship to whether communism is or is not one of the great evils of the world. Despite our passionate and sincere longing for peace, a powerful mass movement like McCarthyism could mobilize us, to a dangerous or even catastrophic extent, for a contrary purpose.

THE MUTINY THAT'S RAISING CAIN

[*Few American novels in recent years have aroused more controversy, or sold more copies, than Herman Wouk's "The Caine Mutiny." The story's transfer to the Broadway stage under the title "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial" has heightened the controversy considerably, as the mail bags of newspapers and periodicals throughout the country will attest.*

From our own bag of mail on the subject we have chosen three letters which we think are of more than usual interest. The first is a reader's comment on Harold Clurman's review of the play in our February 13 issue.]

Dear Sirs: I believe that Harold Clurman, in his interesting review of "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial," falls into a sociological trap of his own making, and I think he misunderstands the nature of dramatic criticism. Mr. Clurman paid Herman Wouk's play a number of handsome compliments: he termed it a "thoroughly effective show," felt that it had a "fascinating subject," and commended the actors and the director. However, he found the play "brilliant but uncreative."

Part of my disagreement with Mr. Clurman hinges on the fact that we take different views of what dramatic art is. He evidently believes that art is an imitation of actual life. I disagree with this. I think that a work of art *abstracts* from reality in order that it may present an idea through an articulate symbol. If we are to use the word "imitation," I would use it in the Aristotelian sense in which it more nearly corresponds to the word "semblance."

I cannot indorse the kind of art theory that measures the value of drama either by the way it represents life or by the author's implied beliefs about life. This leads dramatic criticism away from its proper sphere—that is, consideration of the work of art; it turned Mr. Clurman's review into a lecture on sociology and politics. Mr. Clurman's remarks about the "message" of this play are interesting but hardly relevant to dramatic criticism. Mr. Clurman discourses about the navy, democracy, Dreyfusards, political criticism of the established order, conservatism, and so on.

I would have preferred a discussion of the nature of the image presented in this play and its *essential difference* from actuality. In other words, how did the author manage to build and maintain his dramatic illusion, his symbol of feeling? The dramatist's task, then, is not to copy life but to organize and articulate a symbol for the "sense of life."

I too think "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial" an excellent presentation, and I wish that Mr. Clurman had directed his gifts of observation to a thorough consideration of the play itself rather than of its by-products.

Chicago, Ill. E. C. RICHARDS, JR.

[*Mr. Clurman answers Mr. Richards's criticism in the following letter.*]

Dear Sirs: First, Mr. Richard says that I see art as "an imitation of actual life." He could not have read my article very clearly, since my complaint, made as explicitly as possible, is that art is not a representation of actual life—"Chardin's and Cézanne's apples are not works of art because they look like apples."

Second, since I do not consider "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial" a work of art but an effective show on a sociological theme, it is thoroughly proper for me to deal with what the play had to offer—which was a sociological problem.

Third, I believe that dramatic criticism that deals regularly with drama alone is trivial, aside from the fact that I do not think it is possible to deal with an art work solely in terms of itself. One cannot even write about a love story with any meaning unless one knows something of the subject matter. How, then, can one write intelligently on a drama with a social theme without a social point of view?

New York HAROLD CLURMAN

[*The third letter is from a contributor to* The Nation *who is by profession a historian—his latest book is "American-Russian Relations: 1791-1947"—*

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but who like most of us finds the critic's mantle an irresistible garment.]

Dear Sirs: As a commissioned graduate of the Naval Academy who served at sea as an executive officer during World War II, and as a latter-day historian who periodically rereads Herman Melville, Joseph Conrad, and William McFee, it appears to me that the critics have missed the point about "The Caine Mutiny."

True, a few critics have questioned the story. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., of Harvard blasted the stage version as an attack upon intellectuals, arguing that the purpose of the story is to type all intellectuals as dangerous men who unnecessarily disturb an acceptable status quo. Harold Clurman's review of the play in *The Nation* followed a similar line. Noting that the work is marred by a "disturbing ambiguity," Clurman sums up his uneasiness in these terms: "Either it is saying something that is almost pointless—I repeat, no one in America challenges the integrity or purpose of our basic institutions—or it is encouraging a general sense of complacency about them to which we almost take pleasure in succumbing because such an attitude is eminently 'safe'." Both writers are correct, of course, about the current assault upon the intellectual in general and the radical in particular. But where Schlesinger, Jr., and Clurman go astray is in their acceptance of Wouk's assertion that there was a mutiny aboard the Caine. For if a political, social, and economic version of the Caine mutiny is all that the American intellectual is capable of dreaming, planning, and executing, then the ghosts of the American Liberty League can settle down to a long life of undisturbed tranquillity.

There was no mutiny aboard the Caine. Dissatisfied and unhappy men suddenly became afraid for their lives in a typhoon and reacted in a manner best calculated to save their skins. If we take him literally, as his critics have done, Wouk camouflages this key fact from the very beginning of his work. "It was not," he writes in the frontispiece, "a mutiny in the old-time sense, of course, with flashing of cutlasses, a captain in chains, and desperate sailors turning outlaws." Wouk hastens to add, however, that "the episode became known as 'the Caine mutiny' throughout the service." Confronted with this subtle evasion, both the audience and the critic have responded by also treating the story as about a mutiny. But two circumventions do not make a solution.

No mutiny occurred aboard the Caine because the junior officers who relieved the captain did so only when their dis-

The "Intellectual" in "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial": Robert Gist as Lieutenant Tom Keefer

affection for existing authority became fear for their lives, and only when they thought themselves protected by existing regulations which defined their action as legal and proper—however grave. Of freedom there was much rhetoric in the wardroom, but no action until the danger from the captain's incompetence and authoritarianism touched the lives of the junior officers themselves.

Asked why he disliked the captain, the morale officer replied that his "chief reason" was "cowardice in battle"—not the fact that the commanding officer was "a petty tyrant and utterly incompetent." Now lack of courage in battle is a serious failing: it violates both the individual's and the group's sense of integrity, and if persisted in, it increases the probability of death. And the morale officer acquiesced in the relief of the captain only when he considered his physical existence threatened, not on the ground that the captain's cowardice, authoritarianism, and incompetence were destroying the ship's integrity.

The executive officer, asked why he had not acted earlier, asserted that he "wasn't sure of [his] ground." As with the morale officer, he acted only when the captain's tyranny and incompetence touched him in terms of physical survival. None of these considerations detract from his courage in relieving the skipper at the height of the storm. But to concentrate on this courage and seamanship is to miss the point. More accurate was the defending lawyer's charge that the intellectual, not the executive officer, should have been tried.

Yet here too the focus is fuzzy. For the intellectual's crime was not to question authority—as the story seems to imply upon a superficial reading, and as the critics have assumed—but rather his refusal either to accept responsibility for that action or to initiate the necessary counter-measures. In the two critical situations the intellectual failed to measure up to these requirements of his role. When the executive officer was ready to make his charge of incompetence and tyranny to the fleet commander, it was the intellectual who backed out on the ground that the evidence "would not justify the action, and that both of us would be liable to a charge of combining to make a mutiny."

This same fear for his own safety was emphasized during the court-martial proceedings. Since he did not feel the charges were justified, he was asked why did he not help the captain regain control of the ship. To this the intellectual replied that it "might have been a mutinous act on my part." And a bit later under examination by the court the intellectual abandoned his function entirely, pleading that it "wasn't my place to question" the captain. As the defending lawyer pointed out, this action by the intellectual forced the whole trial to be conducted in a phony manner, with the basic issues obscured and evaded. Any attempt to defend intellectuals and their role in society on the basis of the performance by the intellectual aboard the Caine is doomed to failure, however much eloquence and passion is expended in the effort.

In order to avoid this cul-de-sac it must be emphasized that the key point of "The Caine Mutiny" is not that authority is sacred but rather that the intellectual abdicated his responsibility—and consequently lost not only his opportunity but also his self-respect.

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS

Eugene, Ore.

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BOOKS

Lewis Carroll's Subconscious

THE DIARIES OF LEWIS CARROLL. Edited by Roger Lancelyn Green. Two Volumes. Oxford University Press. $7.50.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

THESE diaries, now admirably edited with full apparatus, have never been published before and were not available to any but the earliest of Lewis Carroll's biographers. Except for one gap they cover the years from the time when the diarist took his degree almost to the time of his death, and though they are mostly concerned with the external events of his quiet life they are obviously of prime importance. More than one recent critic has hinted darkly that they were being kept from the public because they would reveal all too plainly the seamy side to the life of a bachelor recluse who spent a lot of his time photographing girl children in the nude and who must therefore have been a cesspool of complexes and inhibitions.

Though the editor now assures us that nothing except dull lists of dinner guests and like trivia has been omitted, the psychological sleuths are going to be disappointed. There is, to be sure, enough to confirm the already obvious fact that the subconsciousness of the Reverend Charles L. Dodgson was not quite so pure as he probably thought it was. But his inward as well as his outward "adjustment" appears to have been highly successful. He seems to have had less trouble with his religious faith than most intellectual Victorians did; if he was "sex starved" he does not seem to have been aware of the fact, and there is every reason for believing that the nearest he ever came to an orgy was what he believed to be a fatherly kiss bestowed upon one of the "little friends" whom he insisted upon entertaining without a chaperone.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, formerly Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University, will soon bring out a new book, "The Measure of Man."

Coming from a long line of clergymen, Dodgson spent a happy childhood constructing marionettes, contributing to the manuscript magazines which the family was always starting, and being bullied no more than was customary at a public school. Becoming a mildly original minor mathematician interested especially in puzzles, games, and symbolic logic, he passed his adult life quietly tutoring at Oxford, publishing a little humorous verse as well as the famous stories, attending the theater, of which he was passionately fond, taking excellent photographs by the cumbersome wet-plate method, and, of course, telling stories to children.

NO DOUBT it is a significant fact that he stammered badly except when no adults were present and that there were a few suspicious mammas who firmly refused to allow their children to be "borrowed" for his afternoons of story-telling and photography. But the worst that could be said of his temperament and character as they manifested themselves in his daily life is that he was sometimes fantastically prudish; that he was a troublesome, protest-writing stickler for correct procedure in everything which affected his academic life; and that, if one may judge from the portraits included in this volume along with many specimens of his own photography, his appearance was a bit droopy—suggestive, indeed, of that dropping-down-deadness of manner which Sidney Smith said was expected of minor members of the clergy.

The best to be said is that children really liked him—in after life one remembered him as "a perfect uncle"—and that he was not quite so far gone in respectability as some of the anecdotes stressed by recent biographers would suggest. When, for example, he was temporarily troubled by the opinion of Bishop Soapy Sam Wilberforce that clergymen must not attend the theater, his choice—which ultimately he did not have to make—was to forgo ordination rather than playgoing. As for his photographs, those of children are somewhat over-cute; the portraits of such celebrities as Faraday, Huxley, and Tennyson are dramatic and admirable.

None of this is meant to minimize in the slightest degree the fact that the best of his writing did come from his subconsciousness or even that it has its surrealist aspect. In fact, the lapses into a strained inanity which occur here and there even in the "Alice" books doubtless correspond to the moments when he was trying to make his conscious mind do the work of his autonomous imagination. But there is little obviously sinister in all this, and one of the interesting things revealed by the diaries is the fact that he himself was both aware of the autonomous activity of his imagination and interested in the dream state.

"When we are dreaming . . . do we not say and do things which in waking life would be insane? May we not then define insanity as an inability to distinguish which is the waking and which the sleeping state?" To call a completely rational allegory "a dream" is one of the oldest of literary conventions, but if "Alice" is one of the first books in which the real dream state is actually reproduced, that is no doubt because Lewis Carroll was acutely aware of dream phenomena.

> I was walking on a hillside alone, one bright summer day, when suddenly there came into my head one line of verse—one solitary line—"For the Snark *was* a Boojum, you see." I knew not what that meant then; I know not what it means now; but I wrote it down: and sometime afterwards the rest of the stanza occurred to me, that being the last line; and so by degrees, at odd moments during the next year or two, the rest of the poem pieced itself together, that being the last stanza. . . . Still, you know, words mean more than we mean to express when we use them; so a whole book ought to mean a great deal more than the writer meant.

Since this is exactly the opposite to the way in which Dante and Chaucer constructed their "dreams" and since the result really is dreamlike, why should not "Alice" or "The Hunting of the Snark" rather than Strindberg's "Dream Play" be called the first surrealist literary work?

During the first flush of popular enthusiasm for psychoanalysis one of the new practitioners issued a solemn warning to parents against the dreadful effect of "Alice," which was described as a

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chamber of horrors completely fitted out with everything calculated to destroy a child's peace of mind and emphasizing with especial persistence "threats to the integrity of the body" in the form of growings and shrinkings, the cutting off of heads, etc. Indubitably these horrors are suggested, and if horror of some sort were not perpetually threatening to break through the mood of extravagant comedy the stories would not exercise their continuing fascination. But the real question is the same as it was in the case of the author's own psyche: Why is the ultimate effect so benign?

IF Lewis Carroll had written like Baudelaire or the Marquis de Sade, if his life had been a painful struggle with madness and he had ended by cutting little girls into pieces, he would have made a better case-history. Instead, he merely entertained children very admirably and wrote books which turn the stuff of nightmare into delicious fun. Perhaps a modern psychologist could have "cured" him of his inhibitions, as well as of his literary ability. Perhaps, as a result, he would have led a "normal," "well-adjusted" life with children of his own. But it is not certain that either he or we would have been gainers, and we can spare a few "normal" adults when the abnormal ones can do what he did.

But why did it turn out that way? Was it happy accident, some gift of self-mastery with which he was born, or merely another example of the way in which the Victorians sometimes muddled successfully through when it seems to us that they had no right to do so. Certainly nobody "understood" him in the sense that any amateur psychologist can now be sure that he can be understood. In those days few were alert to the sinister implications of eccentricity, and when it was first noticed that Carroll's fondness for the company of Dean Liddell's children was extravagant, the worst most people suspected was that he was after their governess! What would have happened to his life or his talent if someone had warned him that too much "purity" is a bad sign?

In any event it looks very much as if the publication of these diaries would put an end to the increasing tendency to indulge in dark suspicions when discussing either Carroll's life or work. At least all suspicions seem destined to remain no more than suspicions. His life was nothing worse than innocently fussy and, to all appearances, happier than most Victorian lives commonly were or most contemporary lives commonly are. Bernard Shaw once remarked that if you can't get rid of a skeleton in the closet the best thing to do is to make it dance. That is precisely what Dodgson-Carroll did.

EARLY WHIPPOORWILL

I have a letter from Oklahoma—
A professor of logic, part-time ornithologist,
Doubts that Kentucky has had the chance to hear
A whippoorwill's song the third month of the year
When the Sooner State must wait till April at least.

I'd heard a whippoorwill's stout-hearted call
And printed the fact and thought it within reason
For bird or man to sing in or out of season,
As any might err, might sound a note quite new,
Deny the systems and set the graphs askew.

I hold this state is not alone in being lucky
It has had a whippoorwill uncommonly plucky;
I believe I'm not indulging in idle misnomer
By calling all fortunate, including Oklahoma,
When bird or thought makes lists and manuals vain.
O earliest whippoorwill, come again!

JAMES STILL

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E. B. WHITE writes in *The New Yorker:* "A resounding book, dogging the steps of the fearmongers, praising that rare felicity, the right to think what one pleases and to say what one thinks."

GILBERT SELDES writes in the *Saturday Review:* "If the independent thinking man survives in America we will all owe Elmer Davis an incalculable debt."

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F. D. R.—1919 to 1928

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: THE ORDEAL. By Frank Freidel. Little, Brown and Company. $6.

By Grace G. Tully

DR. FREIDEL has given us an excellent account of the events of an era which has been largely neglected in books about Franklin D. Roosevelt. With few exceptions, people writing about Roosevelt have preferred to record only his years as Governor and President. This volume, dealing with the period between 1919 and 1928, fills an important historical gap.

There is a good deal of new material in Dr. Freidel's book which gives an insight into the roots of Roosevelt's ideas, particularly on social problems. I am glad the author recalled the programs to which Roosevelt had given thought long before he became Governor or President and which, with his usual persistence, he pursued until they became realities.

In spite of its title, "The Ordeal" minimizes the importance of the long period of illness which Roosevelt endured. Because of his stature as public man, as well as his impressive physical stature, few ever doubted his ability to carry on, or even thought about his disability. However, most people who have been stricken by the same terrible disease marvel at the courage which enabled Roosevelt willingly to accept heavy responsibilities at a time when he would have been happy merely to be able to walk.

Dr. Freidel mentions Woodrow Wilson's objection to an award to be given in his name as a "memorial." Roosevelt recalled Wilson's comment one day when we drove from Highland Park to Hyde Park during the war and he spotted a sign on the Post Road reading: "Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Library." He couldn't quite jump out of his seat, but he lunged forward to call Colonel Starling's attention to the fact that he was "not dead." The road signs were removed almost before the Presidential party reached the front door of the house at Hyde Park.

Different as they were in personality and temperament, Wilson and Roosevelt were much alike in their thinking. As a young man, Roosevelt, learning from the great educator, then President, developed the ideals and objectives to which his later efforts were dedicated. From those days stemmed Roosevelt's devotion to the principles espoused by President Wilson in his fight for the League of Nations. Long years afterward Roosevelt and Hull worked out the plans of a world organization based on those principles, plans which took shape when the United Nations was born in 1945.

Roosevelt's thinking, from his earliest days to his last, did not change much. Conditions changed and as a good politician he moved with the tide, but he always returned to policies and principles that had guided him at the start of his public career, and he fought to the end to achieve them.

Dr. Freidel's book is a definitive history—not just another book on Roosevelt. It is objective, carefully documented, and at the same time interesting and illuminating. We should have more contemporary history of this kind.

GRACE G. TULLY was Franklin D. Roosevelt's secretary for seventeen years.

New Books in Brief

Functions of Language

POWER OF WORDS. By Stuart Chase in Collaboration with Marian Tyler Chase. Harcourt, Brace. $3.95.

A study of the art and and science of communication and its development since the author first wrestled with the subject in "The Tyranny of Words" (1938). It includes the new discoveries and often revolutionary theories of engineers, physiologists, psychologists, linguists, anthropologists, and mathematicians. It also includes analyses of such causes of communication failure as the confusion of words with things, the failure to check abstract terms with concrete events, guilt by verbal association, and the failure to discriminate between facts, inferences, and value judgments. ("This train is going at twenty miles an hour" is a fact. "At this rate we'll be an hour late" is an inference. "This railroad is never on time" is a value judgment.)

Language has three main functions: to communicate with others; to communicate with oneself, or to think; and to mold one's outlook on life. In regard to the third of these functions the author makes the point that the Indo-European languages tend by their structure to deal in absolutes, whereas there are other languages which tend to consider things only in relation to each other. Thus the theory of relativity, which with us must be translated into mathematics, might theoretically be more easily expressed in the tongue of the Hopi Indians, which has no tenses and is not based on a subject-predicate construction.

Part II of the book shows how the theories of Part I can be used to deal with such semantic calamities as propaganda, campaign oratory, and other examples of bafflegab.

Call of the Wild

BORN IN CAPTIVITY. By John Wain. Knopf. $3.50.

When Charles Lumley decided that for him freedom could be attained only by rejecting gentility, he set himself up as a free-lance window-washer. Soon afterward he became a truck-driver, dope-smuggler, hospital orderly, chauffeur, gag-writer. During this career he manages to cover a good deal of England and visit a number of pubs. He also falls in love with the mistress of a detestable Blimp and nearly marries a virtuous but uninspiring nurse.

Mr. Wain's novel has a dream character which is not exclusively due to its picaresque pattern. It is interesting that none of Lumley's jobs are productive; they are all—even the gag-writing—service occupations; precisely the sort of work a member of the middle class would think of as typically proletarian, because his contact with labor would normally be through services. This gives Lumley's various trades a slightly frivolous quality—as though they were wish-fulfilments.

The publisher's blurb compares Mr. Wain to Joyce Cary, which seems unjust to both. Prankishness here does not shade into malice; it has become touched with evil. Lumley does not merely

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smuggle dope, he becomes accessory to murder; good luck is not ultimately productive of anything but degradation; dalliance ends in cynical acceptance of "reality." Readers are more apt to be reminded of the young Aldous Huxley of "Antic Hay" than of Cary.

"Born in Captivity" has its amusing pages—quite a few of them—but the total effect is dispiriting.

The Nations Are Perished Out of His Land

THE COASTS OF THE EARTH. By Harold E. Livingston. Houghton Mifflin in Association with Ballantine Books. Cloth, $3; paper, 35 cents.

Any novel about Israel's War of Liberation is bound to have dramatic impact—it is no simple coincidence that the rhetoric of the time and place is in the same key as that of the Battle of Britain—but "The Coasts of the Earth" does not owe its vitality solely to its subject. This novel of the airmen who ferried munitions in from Europe is a deliberate effort to eschew romanticism and treat the conflict much as World War II has been treated by the better novelists. The dedicated souls hardly appear in its pages; American volunteers, with their let's-get-it-over-with attitude of airmen in any war, set the tone of the book.

Unfortunately for Mr. Livingston's attempt to avoid romanticism, he asks us to believe that the war could hardly have been won without the daring and skill of Tony Nevins, a lost-generation young man straight out of early Hemingway, a Gentile who never spent a thought on Jews or Israel before, being at a loose end, he went over to save them from the Arabs.

The American Jew, Norman Becker, is a better-drawn character—neurotic, tormented, failing, and filled with self-disgust. Perhaps the author meant to show that Nevins was able to be useful to Israel because he was not emotionally involved and that Becker failed because his Jewishness haunted him.

Though highly readable, the novel is in many respects superficial—no less so because of its critical undertones. The author is apparently not thoroughly at home with his subject, and readers therefore do not fully understand the trouble with Becker. They may even be left with the notion that the only alternative to being a neurotic, self-torturing American Jew is to be a dashing American Gentile.

Theater

Harold Clurman

KURT WEILL'S and Bert Brecht's "The Three Penny Opera" is a masterpiece; in its present production at the Theatre de Lys it very nearly misses fire. "The Golden Apple" of John Latouche and Jerome Moross is "the best musical of the season"; its production at the Phoenix Theater makes it seem as if calling it that were a very great compliment. Such is the paradox of the theater: the presentation is almost as much part of a play as the material itself.

"The Three Penny Opera"—called that because it is so oddly conceived that it might be a beggar's dream and so cheaply done that it might meet a beggar's budget—sums up a whole epoch and evokes a special state of mind. The epoch is not just the Berlin of 1919-28; it is any epoch in which a lurid rascality combined with fierce contrasts of prosperity and poverty shapes the dominant tone of society. The state of mind is one of social impotence so close to despair that it expresses itself through a kind of jaded mockery which mingles a snarl with tears. Such in a way was the England of John Gay's "Beggar's Opera" (1728), from which the Brecht "book" derives, and certainly the Germany which preceded Hitler. No wonder the one period produced Hogarth and the other George Grosz.

We do not live in such a time—though people who remember the depression days between 1930 and 1935 will appreciate the mood of "The Three Penny Opera" most readily—but it makes the mood irresistibly present

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and, strangely enough, induces us to take it to our hearts with a kind of pained affection. There is, despite the sharp sense of period that permeates it, a universal quality in "The Three Penny Opera." It fosters a bitter sense of regret that we live so scabbily in relation to our dreams and also a kind of masochistic attachment to our wounds, as if they were all we have to show as evidence of our dreams.

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This effect is achieved through Brecht's brilliant lyrics rendered with remarkable intuitive insight and witty skill in Marc Blitzstein's adaptation—and through the one score Weill composed which places him on the level of an Offenbach. What bite and tang, what insidious irony, in the clean thrusts of Brecht's verses; what economy and lightness in Weill's songs and orchestration. How poignant is the sullied lyricism of this work with its jeering bathos, its low-life romanticism, its sweetly poisonous nostalgia, its musical profanity, and its sudden hints of grandeur, godliness, and possible greatness. Here in contemporary terms and with a strange timelessness is the ambiguous, corrupt seduction of a submerged half-world akin to that which François Villon sang of long ago.

How disappointing, then, to have so unique a work—acclaimed practically everywhere since its première in 1928—reduced to a minor event by so ill-prepared a performance as the one we now see. Except for Lotte Lenya, who appeared in the original production, the cast ranges from the amateurish to the adequate. Lenya's nasally insinuating whore is superb for its incisiveness and triple-threat innuendo. But the fault is not the actors'—most of whom could do much better—but the director's. Everything seems labored and awkward instead of sprightly and bright. The miracle is that the inherent superiority of the material survives all hazards.

ON THE other hand, the production and cast of "The Golden Apple" constitute its chief excellence. Great credit is due to the airy, delicate, and precise coloration of William and Jean Eckart's settings—which employ some of the decorative discoveries of the non-objective painters with handsome theatrical effect. Norman Lloyd's direction, Hanya Holm's choreography. Alvin Colt's costumes are all cheerily right. Priscilla Gillette is warm and good-looking, a nice actress and a good singer. Kaye Ballard is perky, Bibi Osterwald delightful, and Jack Whiting is, as always, masterfully debonair in the gay fashion of the twenties. The show moves with wonderful lightness and spirit.

These pleasant comments might be applied to every other element of the production. Latouche's lyrics—there is no spoken dialogue—are intelligent and easily intelligible, reassuringly sophisticated, and in one number particularly, By Goona Lagoon, quite funny. Jerome Moross's score shows cultivation throughout, as well as first-rate musical prosody, and contains one truly lovely tune—Lazy Afternoon.

Yet the show never entirely overcomes something basically dull in its texture. The story is that of the Homeric legend transposed to America, to the state of Washington to be precise, after the Spanish-American War. The lotus-eaters are presented in terms of Dorothy Lamour's Hawaii, Scylla and Charybdis are two stock-market manipulators, Circe is a sort of "Ballet Ballads" Theda Bara. Penelope waits patiently at home in Angel's Roost, and Ulysses finds contentment at last there in her arms.

There is something factitious, fabricated, and uninspiringly effortful in all this. It is a clever exercise, lacking in original point or creative spontaneity. Like so much of our entertainment, it is a made-to-order machine, well devised in all its parts, functioning smoothly, but serving no human function. It has no central life. It gave me "a good time" but no real pleasure.

"A RUGGED AND STARKLY POIGNANT STORY... RAW EMOTION AND POWER"
Bosley Crowther, N.Y. TIMES

"IT'S SOLID PICTURE MAKING"
Archer Winsten, N.Y. POST

"AROUSES SYMPATHY IN THE BEHOLDER"
Kate Cameron, DAILY NEWS

THE MOVIE CRAFTSMANSHIP IS EXCELLENT... SEVERE BEAUTY... ENORMOUS AFFECTION AND SYMPATHY..."
Otis Guernsey, Jr., N.Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

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Records

B. H. Haggin

IT WAS interesting, on a Sunday afternoon, to hear Cantelli conduct the New York Philharmonic in the Mozart Divertimento K.287 that Toscanini recorded a few years ago—interesting, that is, to hear how different Cantelli's performance was, and how beautiful in its different way. Some of the fast movements were slower-paced and more easy-going, making possible the outlining of smaller details within the flow of the larger phrases—a flow that had a beautiful and moving lyricism and grace, as against the powerful impulse operating in Toscanini's treatment. This was the difference also in their performances of the slow movement—a beautifully shaped and eloquent vocal aria as Cantelli played it; one to which Toscanini's power imparts a largeness of span and expressive effect, a tension, a grandeur that become overwhelming.

That power, creating a continuous tension in the flow of tone, and doing this in the quietest music no less than in the most forceful, is one of the distinctive characteristics of Toscanini's work. And it was impressively evident later the same day in his NBC Symphony broadcast—in the lovely slow movement of Vivaldi's D minor Concerto Grosso no less than in Verdi's wonderfully beautiful Te Deum and the Prologue to Boito's "Mefistofele." Boito's music alternates between the impotently grandiose and the appallingly banal; but it includes one fine detail—the reiterated note sung by the boys' chorus at its first entrance. I might add that I don't recall ever having heard a boys' chorus sing with such exquisite phrasing as this one achieved under Toscanini's direction; and it fully merited the smiling "Thank *you*" with which he dismissed the boys at the dress rehearsal.

London has begun to issue Oiseau-Lyre recordings on LP; and I recommend the record (OL-50018) with four sonatas by J. B. Loeillet for several slow movements with remarkably beautiful sustained phrases. Fine performances by George Alès, violin, Pierre Coddée, cello, and Ruggero Gerlin, harpsichord; the sound needs stepping up of treble.

Less consequential are Dittersdorf's three Partitas for wind quintet and Pleyel's Concertante Symphony for winds and orchestra (50014), in which lovely sounds are made by the French Woodwind Quintet.

The LP record (50011) has provided another hearing of Purcell's eight harpsichord suites played by Isabelle Nef; but again I have heard little in them comparable with the superb Fantasias for strings and other instrumental works of Purcell—that little being the Suites Nos. 2 and 4 and the Almand of No. 7. The harpsichord Mlle. Nef uses, the delicate, lovely sounds she produces from it, and the life in her phrasing are, however, a pleasure to the ear.

The Oiseau-Lyre performance of Mozart's Quintet K.452 for piano and winds by Robert Veyron-Lacroix and members of the French Woodwind Quintet (50016) appears at the same time as the Columbia performance by Serkin and Messrs. De Lancie, Gigliotti, Schoenbach, and Jones of the Philadelphia Woodwind Quintet. I continue to find myself in the awkward position of disagreeing with Mozart's own estimate of this quintet, which he pronounced "the best I have ever written": the opening movement still seems to me inane. The performance issued by Mercury a few years ago had a vitality which gave exciting effect to two passages near the end of the exposition and recapitulation of that movement, in which a succession of scales rush up to sustained notes that create a texture with wonderful harmonic progressions. No such effect is given to these passages by the Columbia performance, in which the soft, sticky sweetness of Serkin's playing compels a small-scale, bloodless daintiness in the playing of the others. And even the more vigorous Oiseau-Lyre performance isn't as effective at those points as the Mercury. The Columbia record reproduces texture with greater clarity than the Oiseau-Lyre (the Mercury record was noisy); the first offers also Beethoven's inconsequential Quintet Op. 16, the second an inconsequential Cassation that may not be Mozart's.

On a London record is Mendelssohn's Octet, of which the scherzo movement that is most familiar is the best part. A fine performance by the Vienna Octet (of the Vienna Philharmonic); recorded sound without all the radiance and sweetness it might have.

A Tchaikovsky work I had never heard before, the Quartet Op. 30, is on a Boston record played by Messrs. Burgin, Panasevich, De Pasquale, and Mayes of the Boston Symphony. The one movement of high quality for me is the Andante funebre e doloroso—especially the strikingly unusual writing in the opening section. The limitations of Burgin's playing keep the performance from being more than competent.

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Letters

Means and Ends

Dear Sirs: I would recommend that *The Nation's* editors read Dewey (John not Tom) on the means-end relationship. There they would find the two *do* go together; after all, what *does* justify means if not ends? McCarthy is successful because he sees this, as you pointed out in your March 12 issue. Opponents of McCarthyism would do better to see it too.

And I take it this is what *The Nation's* editors have been saying all along. That certain ends are inseparable from certain means, that the end embodied in McCarthyism involves certain repugnant means, provides the justification for the reexamination of these ends. This is also recognized by *The Nation,* I take it, when you agree that McCarthy is the master of the means of McCarthyism, and that if we accept its ends we might as well employ him as the best wielder of the means.

A "good end never justifies the use of evil means" because you can never use evil means and get good ends; one or the other has to be redefined. The only way means can be judged "good" or "evil" is to attend to the ends they involve or imply. Otherwise, we can only speak of means as "right" or "proper"—for accomplishing certain ends, that is. The problem, then, is one of engineering rather than of ethics or morality.

New York THOMAS ROBISCHON

Learn About Africa

Dear Sirs: Occasionally in your pages I have read highly commendable articles about Africa. An intelligent relationship between the American people and citizens of other lands can grow only as we become informed of each other's problems. The history of our relations with the peoples of Africa is one of the saddest, from the days of slavery down to the present.

In the hope of improving those relations a group of individuals met recently in the Community Church of New York to form the American Committee on Africa. This group, representing various organizations interested in Africa, includes Roger Baldwin, Harold Isaacs, George Carpenter, Rayford W. Logan, A. J. Muste, Norman Thomas, Walter Offutt, and Homer Jack. The committee is primarily educational and will serve as a clearing-house for information on political, social, economic, and cultural developments in Africa.

The American Committee on Africa needs help and will welcome the support of your readers. *Africa Today,* our newsletter, will be sent to all who send support. The address is 28 East Thirty-fifth Street, New York 16, N. Y.

DONALD HARRINGTON, Chairman,
American Committee on Africa

New York

His First Defeat

Dear Sirs: March 24 marked the first anniversary of the opening of the McCarthy hearings on overseas libraries. I think this is a date *The Nation* ought to note in its pages, because the libraries provided the first issue on which McCarthy suffered a setback administered by public opinion—a setback culminating in the President's "don't let's join the bookburners" and the wonderful statement of the Library Association, indorsed by the publishing industry.

I remember a stranger telling me that those hearings would prove the turning point against McCarthyism. At that time I thought he was a little "previous." I don't think so any longer. I don't believe the army would be fighting back today if it were not for the tremendous head of anger built up since the author witnesses refused to be intimidated.

Ours is often accused of being an uncultured country, and there is some truth in this. But for that very reason it is to me a matter of very considerable pride, as an American, that the issue on which the people first said "Halt!" to McCarthy was on the right to read—and write. And it is a matter of pride that those whom Europeans could call the bearers of culture were the first to defeat him in his own committee room.

New York WILLIAM MANDEL

Four-Cent Postage

Dear Sirs: Let us wake up to the crime of the proposed increase of postage for ordinary letters to four cents outside city limits. Where is it written that the Post Office alone must pay for itself, while all other departments need not? There is not a single activity of government so essential to our freedom as the mail service, which our overlords would curtail by imposing high costs of service.

San Diego, Cal. SAM S. SHAPIRA

Gratefully Noted

Dear Sirs: It has been a long time since I have read so impressive an analysis of the issues underlying McCarthyism as is contained in the editorial entitled Gentlemen's Agreement in your issue of March 6. . . . *The Nation* continues to serve the country well.

Sandusky, Ohio STEPHEN L. WARD

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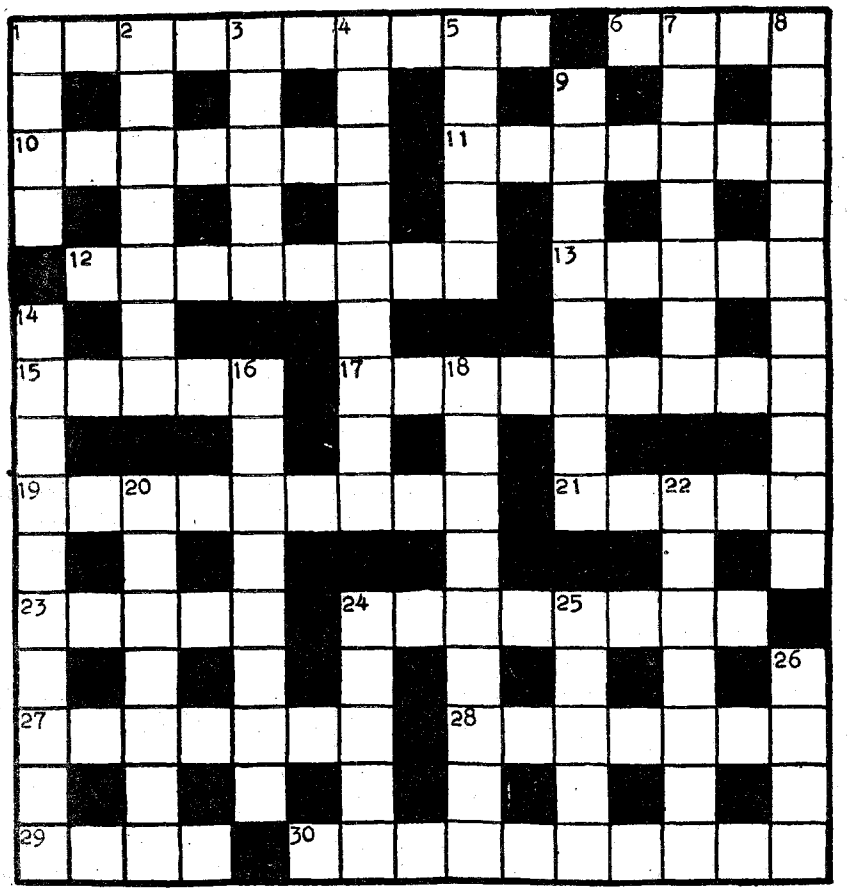
Crossword Puzzle No. 560

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 9 down.
6, 1 down, and 20 down. Reasonable clothing and rent, associated with normal usage. (4, 4, 3, 4)
10 Recreations of Miss Gardner and the sailors. (7)
11 Dried up. (7)
12 Basket, like one between the fish and the seine. (8)
13 This place yields a good return of food. (5)
15 Are continental letters associated with sporting events? (5)
17 See 26 down.
19 Does this perhaps suggest malediction, superior to the chief? (9)
21 Bellini's opera is somewhat less than ordinary. (5)
23 This 26 might come after port 26. (5)
24 Where some ladies eat more oats? (8)
27 Would they be illegal smoking jackets? (7)
28 This one might gibe! (7)
29 The sort of airs some foreigners put on. (4)
30 It's probably the other sex who are the suckers! (10)

DOWN

1 See 6 across.
2 See 3 down.
3 and 2. Well, a mane, for one thing! (5, 2, 1, 4)
4 Satisfy after getting in the money, perhaps, but not feelingly! (9)
5 The kind you 1 down isn't so hard to break. (5)
7 The opposite of the woman Tony Martin married. (7)
8 Truman lied, in basic way! (10)
9 and 1 across. Apple wagon maker, generally speaking! (8, 10)
14 Scrub the sides of a ship, but not with these! (10)
16 When the end nears, we might not recognize him as a tale-bearer. (8)
18 Not nearly like Sanity, Ltd. (9)
20 See 6 across.
22 Repair, in a sense, or resign before the fight. (7)
24 Opera coats. (5)
25 Antelope (with its rib where it should be!) (5)
26 and 17. What the older poet sang, the newer playwright wrote. (4, 3, 3, 3)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 559

ACROSS:—5 and 1 MAKING THE GRADE; 10 and 13 PIANO QUARTET; 11 CENTIPEDE; 12 CLIMBED; 15 ENSIGNS; 18 RODENTS; 21 and 14 FIDDLESTICKS; 24 SAMOVAR; 26 DIOCESE; 27 MUNICIPAL; 28 SYRUP; 29 DESIST; 30 CONSIDER.

DOWN:—1 TOPICS; 2 EMACIATED; 3 RHOMBIC; 4 DECODES; 6 ANIMALS; 7 INERT; 8 GREATEST; 9 UNIQUE; 16 GOLDENROD; 17 PRESUMED; 19 NOVICES; 10 SCRAPE; 21 FIDELIO; 22 DROWSES; 25 and 23 MINE SWEEPER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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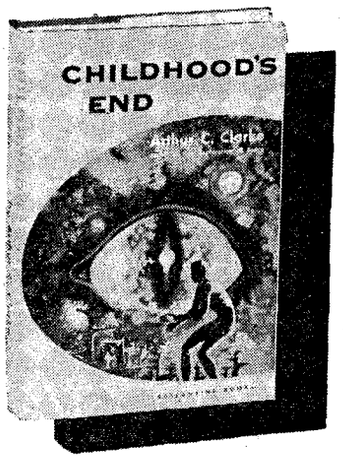

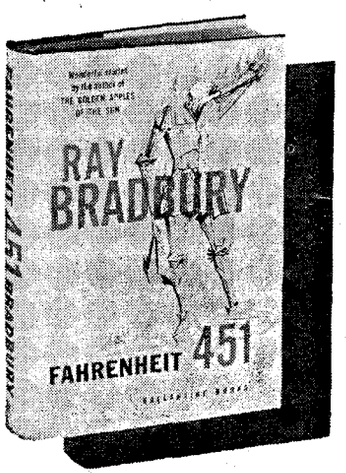

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